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Special Issue
HIP HOP IN THE ACADEMY
Guest Editors
KARIN L. STANFORD AND RONALD J. STEPHENS

IN THIS SPECIAL ISSUE

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The use of music as a teaching tool is not a new phenomenon in the discipline of sociology (Butler, et. al. 1984; Hraba, et. al. 1980; Lashbrook 1991; Rueter and Walczak 1993; and Walczak, et. al 1989). The notion of infusing hip hop into the sociology curriculum to help students better understand sociological theory is a new concept. Sociology is an important field for the study and utilization of hip hop in the classroom. It can further the understanding of individual and institutional behaviors as well as how individuals are impacted by societal forces. Indeed, these topics are also the primary subject of many hip hop songs. Since hip hop is, arguably, the most marketable and profitable form of popular culture today, similar to Theresa Martinez (1994), we believe the utilization of this art form in the classroom can "create a unique environment for learning" (260). Accordingly, the objective of this effort is to demonstrate how hip hop can be utilized as an instrument of instruction in courses emphasizing topics such as theory. Specifically, a popular sociological theory on deviance is identified herein and the lyrics of select artists are used to provide a layman's understanding of that theory.

Before an application of the lyrics to theory is presented, a brief discussion on the difference between hip hop and rap is offered. It is important to note difference between the two art forms as they are not synonymous terms. They each emphasize different aspects of the lived condition of Blacks in urban America that, in terms of appropriateness for the classroom, may not qualify for thoughtful academic discourse suitable for sociological theory. W.E.B. Du Bois' criteria for Negro art and his defense of Black womanhood serves as the frame which the demarcation of the two art forms are presented. After the terms are operationalized and detached, the lyrics of selected artists will then be applied to a

popular sociological theory to demonstrate the manner in which instructors can incorporate this pedagogical technique into their classroom.

DAMNATION OF HIP HOP

In 1926, W.E.B. Du Bois published an essay outlining his criteria for Negro art. This effort was a response to the works of some Harlem Renaissance artists whom he believed did not use their talent to promote racial advancement or present holistic interpretations of Black life in America. Du Bois chastised his beloved talented tenth for not propagandizing their work since he believed "all art is propaganda and ever must be ... I do not care a damn for any art that is not used for propaganda" (Du Bois 1926, 296). While one understanding of propaganda suggests the dissemination of false and misleading information or unjustifiably positive analyses of one's biased position, Du Bois' use of the term is directed at the dispelling of inaccurate or incomplete depictions of America's second class citizens in favor of truthful and holistic accounts of the Black experience. Du Bois does not suggest the construction of utopian depictions of Black life in America at the expense of accurate interpretations. He does, however, argue for the expansive representation of the beauty of Black life in a manner similar to that expressed by and about Whites. This point is addressed when he writes,

[I] do care when propaganda is confined to one side while the other is stripped and silent ... it is not the positive propaganda of people who believe white blood divine, infallible and holy to which I object. It is denial of a similar right of propaganda to those who believe black blood human, lovable and inspired with new ideals for the world (1926, 296–297).

The balanced portrayal of Black life, according to Du Bois, is grounded in the presentation of accurate and representative accounts of the Black experience during a period when neither was readily available or palatable to many Whites. More importantly, Du Bois argues that true art, including hip hop, must include two specific characteristics—truth and justice.

The primary tool of the artist, according to Du Bois is truth. The truth, he writes, should be used "not for the sake of truth, not as a scientist seeking truth, but as one upon whom Truth eternally thrusts itself as the highest handmaiden of imagination, as

the one great vehicle of universal understanding" (1926, 296). In his critical essay on Harlem Renaissance artists, Du Bois provides a cogent example from World War I to bolster his argument that a quest for the truth must be at the center of any artistic endeavor. Since World War I, he writes, historians have championed the heroic successes of White soldiers in combat. Du Bois specifically points to reports of courage and valor demonstrated by White British and French soldiers who collectively, and seemingly singlehandedly, defeated German East Africa. The "truth" missing from this tale, according to Du Bois, is the lack of acknowledgement of the participation and accomplishments of Black soldiers. "For four years," Du Bois writes, "they fought and won and lost German East Africa; and all you hear about it is that England and Belgium conquered German Africa for the allies" (294)! Du Bois reports that the number of Black soldiers participating in the victory over German East Africa outnumbered their White contemporaries quite substantially. Without the efforts of Black soldiers Du Bois queries whether victory over German East Africa would have been possible. In the absence of truth, a dominant group may create a subjective narrative that serves to enhance their position within a society while simultaneously minimizing the contributions of others and denying holistic and truthful accounts of actual events. Moreover, people from "invisible" groups are denied accurate information on the contributions and important role of persons sharing their particular characteristics.

The secondary tool of the artist, according to Du Bois, is justice. Du Bois (1926) believes that justice is necessary "Not for sake of an ethical sanction but as the one true method of gaining sympathy and human interest" (296). The teaming of truth and justice form the crux of Du Bois' notion of art as they provide holistic and honest accounts of the experiences of a group of people. Perhaps the most important aspect of one's pursuit of justice through the arts is their possible silencing by powerful interests within that society who would not like to have both truth and justice disseminated to an already controlled subordinate group. Should uncensored truth and justice be offered to a subordinated people in order to develop a foundation for revolt? Du Bois writes,

The apostle of Beauty thus becomes the apostle of Truth and Right not by choice but by inner and outer compulsion. Free he is but his freedom is ever bounded by Truth and Justice; and slavery only dogs

him when he is denied the right to tell the Truth or recognize an idea of Justice (1926, 296).

Du Bois seems to imply here that, while one is free to make personal decisions at the behest of their inner and outer social containments, societal factors may impact an artists' ability, or freedom, to report on issues of truth and justice in a substantive manner. Such an influence on one's artistic endeavors would certainly not result in truthful creations buttressed by justice as Du Bois mandates.

One can deduce from the next quotation that Du Bois saw the controlling force over the freedom of the production of Black art was the White institutional structure that has a palate for the contributions of Black art only insofar as it proves financially profitable and reflects or promotes the existing negative racial stereotypes of subordinate groups. Du Bois explains,

In other words, the white public today demands from its artists, literary and pictorial, racial pre-judgment which deliberately distorts Truth and Justice, as far as colored races are concerned, and it will pay for no other (1926, 297).

Ironically, it can be argued that, whereas Black artists were coerced into this posture in years past, today some artists willing exchange financial rewards for the continued stereotypical accounts of purported Black life in urban America that may not necessarily be grounded in reality. One of the most popular and influential hip hop/rap artists today acknowledges in a song that he consciously chose to deviate from his hip hop origins to focus on rap endeavors that provide more fruitful financial rewards. He ultimately rationalizes his decision by suggesting that he could serve as an urban Robin Hood by providing services and benefits to urban residents with the rewards received from his rap efforts. Perhaps most insidious is his acknowledgement that his motivation to "flip his style" was his fans inability to understand his high brow intellectual flow. Jay Z writes,

I dumb down for my audience and double my dollars
They criticize me for it yet they all yell "Holla"
If skills sold truth be told
I'd probably be lyricly
Talib Kweli
Truthfully I wanna rhyme like Common Sense
(But I did five Million dollars)
I ain't been rhyming like Common since

When your sense got that much in common And you been hustling since your inception Fuck perception go with what makes sense Since I know what I'm up against We as rappers must decide what's most important And I can't help the poor if I'm one of them So I got rich and gave back To me that's the win, win

An argument can be made that the desire of many rap artists to become financially successful results in their creating work that, as noted by Du Bois, fits within the dominant cultural groups' ideology of what is expected of and allowed to pass as Black art.

The resultant product, of course, must in the end be profitable regardless of societal impact and exclude or de-emphasize social justice. Ultimately, the intrusion of economic forces in the development of hip hop has led to the creation of a new thread of the art—rap. Rap, we argue, is a commercially driven and profit motivated art grounded in misogyny, homophobia, and excessive violence that has little to no redeeming qualities. While there are elements of rap that include Du Bois' criteria of truth, justice, and propaganda, taken as a whole this art form fails to qualify as a useful pedagogical instrument. The most glaring point of departure for the two art forms is their perspective on Black women.

W.E.B. Du Bois is considered by many sociologists to be one of, if not the first, male academic feminists. This conclusion is principally drawn from his defense of womanhood in an essay, "The Damnation of Women," from his 1920 book Darkwater: Voices from Within the Veil. Notwithstanding his reported affairs with multiple women not named Mrs. Du Bois, the father of American sociology is championed for his stern challenge of the subordinate status of women and the promotion of equality between the genders (Lewis 1993, 2001). His essay was an intellectual examination of an expanded notion of equality drawn from a double consciousness derived Black male perspective and directed at White American men whom he encouraged to live up to the "equality" creed of the Constitution they held so dear. Du Bois, writing eloquently and succinctly on the limited opportunities available to women because of their gender, said "Only at the sacrifice of intelligence and the chance to do her best work can the majority of modern women bear children" (Du Bois 1999[1920], 96). Du Bois notes here the unenviable position women found themselves since the dominant cultural mores of the era practically forced them to sacri-

fice their own goals and dreams in order to practice traditional marital and gender roles. The relinquishing of one's aspirations of education and the forfeiture of economic independence from men, Du Bois surmised, "is the damnation of women" (Du Bois 1999 [1920], 96).

While his contempt for the subordination of all women is clearly articulated within an economic and education frame, Du Bois later extends and narrows his feminist critique by focusing on the subordination and exploitation of Black women by White males. Du Bois sternly declares,

I shall forgive the white South much in its final judgment day: I shall forgive its slavery, for slavery is a world-old habit; I shall forgive its fighting for a well-lost cause, and for remembering that struggle with tender tears,' I shall forgive its so-called "pride of race," the passion of its hot blood, and even its dear, old, laughable strutting and posing; but one thing I shall never forgive, neither in this world nor the world to come: its wanton and continued and persistent insulting of black womanhood which it sought and seeks to prostitute to its lust (1926, 100).

Du Bois' repudiation of the maltreatment of Black women at the hands of White men was firmly rooted in the exploitation of Black women's bodies both for pleasure and profit. Although Du Bois' adamant defense was articulated nearly one hundred years ago, it is argued here that Black women's bodies continue to be exploited for pleasure and profit; specifically, within the subset of hip hop called rap music. This, we argue, is the damnation of hip hop. Stated more directly, the damnation of hip hop is its inability or unwillingness to distance itself from rap's wholesale exploitation of women that ranges from their simple maltreatment as sexual objects to more overt and unintelligible forms of repugnance that one struggles to intellectually understand the artistic origin from which it was derived. It is because of rap's emphasis on the sexual objectification of women, in addition to excessive violence and homophobia that this art form is an inadequate pedagogical tool in the instruction of adolescents in sociological/social science

Again, the damnation of hip hop is its infiltration by rap that provides artistic accounts of the Black experience in America that are diametrically opposed to the foundation upon which the art of the spoken word that originated in the streets of New York City

was established. In order for it to be acceptable as a pedagogical instrument, hip hop must end its direct relationship with and tacit approval of rap and its constituent components. This can be accomplished if hip hop artists publicly articulate the differences between the two art forms. In so doing, they will affirm their commitment to the legacy of the art form, of which they are now beneficiaries. Additionally, they simultaneously denounce the artistic presentation of misogynistic, homophobic, and excessively violent work portending to depict the actual lives of Blacks in America. It must be stated here that only in an ideal world would these two art forms be mutually exclusive. Notwithstanding this reality, it is promoted here that the classroom use of hip hop should be advanced only in instances where there is either the absence or disavowal of rap's misogyny and similarly offensive themes. With an emphasis on hip hop, academicians can more easily incorporate the art of hip hop into their curriculum in their efforts to better explain sociological/social science theory.

STRAIN THEORY

Crime and deviance are popular topics in hip hop. Some artists, who have witnessed and/or participated in illegal activities, not only offer insight, but also grounded theoretical accounts to explain the act(s) of deviance. It is argued here that utilization of the grounded theoretical offerings of some hip hop artists, after careful examination of their biography to assess accuracy and truth within their artistic accounts, should be incorporated into academia. Doing so may further the students' understanding, for example, of sociological/social science theories in areas including urban studies.

In 1938, Robert K. Merton offered a now-classic theory on the cause of deviance in the United States. In "Structure and Anomie" Merton (1938) outlined "how some social structures exert a definite pressure (sic) upon certain persons in the society to engage in nonconformist rather than conformist conduct" (672). The nonconformist conduct of persons in a society entrenched in capitalism, as argued by Merton, "may be viewed as a symptom of dissociation between culturally defined aspirations and socially structured means" (674). The tension that emerges from the disconnect between the culturally defined goals of a society and ones inability to obtain those goals has come to be known as strain theory. According to Merton, people adapt to this strain in various ways in-

cluding conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism, and rebellion. While most civilizations include some sort of social control mechanism(s), when the desired goals of a society are excessively promoted, especially to those who are economically vulnerable, the reality of their inability to legitimately obtain those goals may lead to the development of alternative and possibly illegal means. Merton proposes that the capitalism inspired ethos of American culture may contribute to strain within the society and the construction of alternative means to obtain ones goals. "The extreme emphasis upon the accumulation of wealth as a symbol of success in our own society," according to Merton, "militates against the completely effective control of institutionally regulated modes of acquiring a fortune" (1938, 675). In addition to understanding the development of alternative means to reach ones goals, essential to understanding the underlying class based tension in Merton's theory of deviance is the idea that, while the members of a society may reach a consensus on their valued goal(s), structural barriers inevitably prevent many within that very society from having the same opportunity to obtain those goals, save illegitimate means.

An argument can be made that Merton is proposing that persons in low social class positions are purposely misled to believe that the "American Dream" (i.e., the ability to obtain the accepted societal goals and symbols of success within a society) is possible if they simply outwork their fellow competitors. Without question, the possibility for success even in the face of extreme class and/or structural barriers exists. However, Merton argues that persons of high class ranking may claim plausible deniability of purposive efforts to maintain the class based hierarchy within that society if the goals are clearly demarcated and the idea that all have equal access at obtaining those goals is accepted. Consequently, one's failure to obtain the agreed upon goals of a society is rationalized to be caused by individual shortcomings not the structural barriers that may exist within a society. Merton addresses this point when he argues,

A high frequency of deviant behavior is not generated simply by "lack of opportunity" or by this exaggerated [economic] emphasis ... It is only when a system of cultural values extols, virtually above all else, certain common symbols of success for the population at large while its social structure rigorously restricts or completely eliminates access to approved modes of acquiring these

symbols for a considerable part of the same population [Emphasis added] (Merton 1938, 680).

Merton provides further clarity when he writes,

In other words, our egalitarian ideology denies by implication the existence of noncompeting groups and individuals in the pursuit of pecuniary success. The same body of success-symbols is held to be desirable for all. These goals are held to transcend class lines [sic], not to be bound by them, yet the actual social organization is such that there exist class differentials in the accessibility of these common success-symbols (Merton 1938, 680).

Thus, consistent exposure to the valued goals and symbols of success within a society, while simultaneously constrained by one's social class position, may lead to the manifestation of one of Merton's five typologies of strain theory (1938).

Conformity occurs when one agrees with the goals of a society and the means by which to achieve the goals. Innovation occurs when one agrees with the goals of a society, but attempts to obtain the goals through alternative means. Ritualism is when one disagrees with the established goals within a society, but does agree with the means to obtain the goals within a society as established by the status quo. Retreatism occurs when one does not agree with the goals of a society or the means by which to obtain the goals. Rebellion, similar to retreatism, occurs when one does not agree with the goals of a society or the means by which to obtain the goals. The point of departure for rebellion is that an attempt to form a counterculture is initiated while a retreatist attempts to disappear within a society. Below each of the typologies is presented with an applicable hip hop song that one may use to better help some students understand the theory.

Conformity occurs when one agrees with the goals of a society and the means to obtain the goals. This typology is demonstrated using Tupac Shakur's song, "I Ain't Mad At 'Cha." In this song Tupac describes how he and a lifelong friend were involved in deviant activities as adolescents. While his friend chose to practice conformity after serving time in the state penitentiary, Tupac describes how he continued to engage in illegal activities and was unsuccessful in convincing his friend to participate with him. Tupac writes:

Now we was once two Niggaz of the same kind Quick to holla at a hoochie with the same line You was just a little smaller but you still rolled

Got stretched to Y.A. and hit the hood swoll Remember when you had a jheri curl didn't quite learn On the block, witcha glock, trippin off sherm Collect calls to the pen saying how you changed Oh you a Muslim now, no more dope game Heard you might be coming home, just got bail Wanna go to the Mosque, don't wanna chase tail It seems I lost my little homie he's a changed man Hit the pen and now no sinning is the game plan When I talk about money all you see is the struggle When I tell you I'm living large you tell me it's trouble Congratulation on the wedding, I hope your wife know She got a playa for life, and that's no bullshiting I know we grew apart, you probably don't remember I used to fiend for your sister, but never went up in her And I can see us after school, we'd BOMB On the first motherfucker with the wrong shit on Now the whole shit's changed, and we don't even kick it Got a big money scheme, and you ain't even with it Hmm, knew in my heart you was the same motherfucker bad Go toe to toe when it's time to roll you got a brother's And I can't even trip, cause I'm just laughing at cha You trying hard to maintain, then go head

Innovation occurs when a person agrees with the goals of a society but rejects the agreed upon means by which to obtain the goals. This typology is demonstrated in the work of Jay Z in the remix to Talib Kweli's song "Get By." This song chronicles the challenges of young Black males living in poverty who desire the finer things in life but who may not necessarily be willing to make long term sacrifices to obtain money but instead choose instant gratification through illegitimate means. While rationalizing his choice to become an innovator by engaging in the sale of illegal drugs, Jay Z offers a pointed assessment of the decisions that many young Black males who elect not to enter legitimate occupations make:

Just to get by
Nigga I sold coke, Nigga I pushed lah
Carried a four five, claimed I was ready to die
Promised never to cry, held it all inside
Reality was too much to take so I kept my mind fly

Grimmed for most of mine, soon as I closed my eyes Then I woke up behind

Thinking either I throw it up these nines or blow up with rhymes

The best flow of mines is like blow up on lines of coke up

And your folks think Hov' just wrote stuff to rhyme Nah, I'm a poster for what happened seeing your moms Doing five dollars worth to work just to get a dime So pardon my disposition

Why should I listen to a system that never listened to me?

Picture me working McDonald's I'd rather pull a mac on you Sorry Ms. Jackson but I'm packing

Ritualism, the least common typology of strain theory within hip hop, occurs when one does not agree with the goals of a society but agrees with the means by which one can become successful. An example of this typology is taken from Tupac Shakur in a song titled, "Young Niggaz." Here Tupac speaks directly to young Black males and encourages them to avoid engaging in acts of deviance but instead pursue legitimate means to become successful. He also tacitly suggests that their goals need not be those defined by societal standards but by themselves. Tupac says:

This goes out to the young thugs, the have nots
The little bad motherfuckers from the block
Them Niggas that's thirteen and fourteen
Drivin' Cadilacs, Benzs and shit
Young motherfuckers hustling
Stay strong nigga
You could be a fucking accountant not a dope dealer
Ya know what i'm sayin?
Fuck around and you pimping out here
You could be a lawyer
Niggas gotta get they priorities straight

Retreatism occurs when one disagrees with both the goals of a society and the means to obtain the goals. The rejection of these societal norms could lead, for example, to one becoming voluntarily homeless. In a song titled "Mr. Wendal," Speech of the group Arrested Development provides insight into this theory. He begins by recounting his interaction with a homeless man then al-

ludes to the idea that simply because one is homeless that doesn't necessarily mean they don't have the mental acuity of the nonhomeless:

Here, have a dollar, In fact no brotherman here, have two Two dollars means a snack for me But it means a big deal to you Be strong, serve God only, Know that if you do, beautiful heaven awaits That's the poem I wrote for the first time I saw a man with no clothes, no money, no plate Mr. Wendal, that's his name, No one ever knew his name cause he's a no-one Never thought twice about spending on a ol' bum, Until I had the chance to really get to know one Now that I know him, to give him money isn't charity He gives me some knowledge, I buy him some shoes And to think blacks spend all that money on big colleges,

Still most of y'all come out confused

Speech then probes deeper to rationalize why someone would voluntarily remove themselves from mainstream society. What he concludes is that for some people the freedoms of voluntary homelessness affords them a holistic quality of life that is more desirable than one bound by the demands of 'normal' everyday life:

Mr. Wendal has freedom A free that you and I think is dumb Free to be without the worries of a quick to diss society For Mr. Wendal's a bum His only worries are sickness And an occasional harassment by the police and their Uncivilized we call him But I just saw him eat off the food we waste Civilization, are we really civilized, yes or no? Who are we to judge? When thousands of innocent men could be brutally enslaved And killed over a racist grudge Mr. Wendal has tried to warn us about our ways But we don't hear him talk Is it his fault when we've gone too far,

And we got too far, cause on him we walk Mr. Wendal, a man, a human in flesh, But not by law
I feed you dignity to stand with pride Realize that all in all you stand tall

The final typology, rebellion, is similar to retreatism since both the goals of a society and means to obtain those goals are rejected. The point of departure for rebellion is the development of a subculture or independent society. Dead Prez, a Black nationalist themed group, provides an example of this typology. In a song entitled "We Want Freedom," Dead Prez does not call for the direct establishment of a subculture or independent society within the United States. However, they do suggest that Blacks should be prepared to do so should there become a need for armed Black revolutionaries. Dead Prez opens their song with a plea for Blacks to organize for self defense around the idea that race problems may lead to armed conflict:

I was born black, I live black
And I'ma die probably because I'm black
Because some cracker that knows I'm black
Better than you nigga, is probably gonna put
A bullet in the back of my head!!
Yeah our lives fucked up, no doubt
All this shit we go through every day
Sometimes a nigga don't know what the fuck to do
But see I got my niggas
And we gonna organize a people army
And we gonna get control over our own lives
And I mean that shit right there from the bottom of my shit

Describing the potential social conditions from the fallout of armed conflict, Dead Prez continues:

Imagine having no running water to drink
Chemicals contaminate the pipes leading to your sink
Just think, if the grocery stores close they doors
And they saturate the streets with tanks and start martial
law
Would you be ready for civil war
Could you take the life of somebody you know
Or have feelings for if necessary?
I got cousins in the military
But far as I'm concerned they died, when they
registered

In a final salvo encouraging Blacks to be prepared for rebellion

through self-defense against enemy combatants, they say:

Yo, this world is oh so cold, I think about my ancestors Being sold, and it make me wanna break the mold Fuck the gold and the party, train yourself, clean your shottie

Tell me what you gonna do to get free, we need more than MC's

We need Hueys, and revolutionaries
The niggas on the streets today, it's kinda scary
The smell around my way ain't roses or strawberries
In fact it's kinda poisonous, bringing out the boy in us
But I'ma stand up on my own, like a man do
Dominate the land and make wealth, like Fu-Manchu
Yes the peoples army stick together like glue
We represent the I-Ching, and to this we stand true
Military formation, anyone participation is welcome
Each one teach one, son help son
Just one gun is all it take to get it started
Living in the wilderness of the west we cold hearted

CONCLUSION

The objective of this essay was to demonstrate how hip hop can be utilized as a pedagogical tool in courses emphasizing topics such as sociological/social science theory. Using Robert Merton's strain theory, the five typologies were applied to hip hop songs to provide an alternative and possibly better way to explain deviance in urban communities to students whose embrace of this form of popular culture is strong. While it is argued here that hip hop ensconced in Du Bois' notion of art should be used as a pedagogical tool, it is important to note that rap is not deemed appropriate or useful for classroom instruction given its perpetuation of racial stereotypes, gender exploitation and homophobia. Since an inherent problem in the operationalization of the terms rap and hip hop is the idea that an artist can create both art forms in one album and potentially one song, it is important that a thorough examination of the artist's biography and work be conducted to assure that Du Bois' criterion of truth, justice and the lack of exploitation of women, both for pleasure and profit, are included before the application of this pedagogical strategy. The result of such an action should be an enhanced understanding of sociological/social science theory that the student may find useful as a tool in their understanding of additional theories.

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